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SUBJECT: GREECE, TURKEY AND NATO

REF: 77 USNATO 7967 (DTG 201137Z AUG 77)

SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE IS AN UPDATED REPORT OF THE STATUS OF
A NUMBER OF NATO ISSUES INVOLVING GREECE AND TURKEY (PRE-
VIOUS REPORT SENT REFTEL). WE DRAW THE FOLLOWING GENERAL
CONCLUSIONS: (A) SOME PROBLEMS ARE QUIESCENT. SOLUTIONS
TO THEM HAVE NOT BEEN FOUND, BUT WORK ON THESE IMPORTANT
ALLIANCE PROJECTS HAS SIMPLY STOPPED BECAUSE OF GREEK-
TURKISH COMPLICATIONS. (B) IN OTHER AREAS, STOP-GAP SOLU-
TIONS HAVE BEEN FOUND BUT WITHOUT RESOLVING BASIC PROBLEMS
AND ONLY AFTER EXHAUSTIVE EFFORT. (C) THE LID IS ON FOR THE
MOMENT, BUT OPEN GREEK-TURKISH CONFRONTATION WAS BARELY
AVOIDED IN PAST MONTHS, AND THE CURRENT UNEASY TRUCE MAY
NOT LAST. (D) RESOLUTION OF NATO PROBLEMS WILL CONTINUE TO

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DEPEND ON MOVEMENT IN US-GREEK-TURKISH BILATERAL RELATIONS,
PARTICULARLY APPROVAL OF THE DCAS. END SUMMARY.

1. GREECE-NATO RELATIONS: THE TURKS HAVE SYSTEMATICALLY
BLOCKED THE EFFORTS OF THE OPEN ENDED GROUP ON GREECE-NATO
(OEG) TO BEGIN MILITARY/TECHNICAL LEVEL DISCUSSIONS WITH
THE GREEKS. HOWEVER, SOME LIMITED PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE;

AN INVENTORY OF ISSUES HAS BEEN COMPLETED AND NATO BODIES IDENTIFIED TO DISCUSS THESE ISSUES WITH THE GREEKS. THE TURKS HAVE RESISTED OPENING OF DISCUSSIONS, HOWEVER, UNTIL THE MILITARY COMMITTEE (MC) HAS COMPLETED AN ASSESSMENT OF THE MILITARY IMPLICATIONS OF THE GREEK STATUS IN NATO AS WELL AS A LIST OF QUESTIONS NATO REPRESENTATIVES WOULD POSE TO GREEKS IN MILITARY/TECHNICAL LEVEL DISCUSSIONS. AFTER THIS MC PAPER IS COMPLETED, IT MUST BE APPROVED BY THE OEG. DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GREEKS COULD THEN BEGIN. HOWEVER, THE TURKS COULD FIND OTHER PROCEDURAL ROADBLOCKS, AND MAY SEEK FURTHER DELAY.

2. MILITARY BUDGET: THE TURKS AND GREEKS HAVE REACHED AN UNEASY MODUS VIVENDI ON FUNDING OF NATO AIR DEFENSE ELECTRONIC ENVIRONMENT SYSTEMS (NADEES). THE GREEKS, WHO SINCE 1974 HAVE NOT SHARED INFORMATION RECEIVED AT THEIR NADEES SITES WITH NATO, RECENTLY AGREED TO LIFT THEIR RESERVATION ON FUNDING OF TURKISH SITES. (GREEK RESERVATION WAS IN RESPONSE TO TURKEY'S BLOCKING FUNDING OF THE GREEK SITES. TURKISH RESERVATION IS JUSTIFIED SINCE NATO DOES NOT RECEIVE DATA FROM GREEKS.) THE GREEKS HAVE FURTHER STATED THAT THEY WILL FUND NADEES O&M COSTS UNILATERALLY TO MAINTAIN THE POTENTIAL OF EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION DURING EMERGENCY BUT WILL NOT AGREE TO SUCH EXCHANGES IN PEACETIME UNTIL THE GREEK STATUS IN NATO HAS BEEN RESOLVED. (THE GREEKS HAVE THUS NOT TAKEN THE ADDITIONAL STEP OF AGREEING TO RELEASE INFORMATION)

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MATION FROM THEIR SITES TO NATO.) IT TOOK ALMOST A YEAR TO COPE WITH THIS TECHNICAL IMPASSE, AND THE LARGER PROBLEM OF NATO USE OF THE SITES REMAINS UNSOLVED. THE ISSUE TYPIFIES THE KIND OF WASTED EFFORT AND PARALYSIS OF NORMAL NATO ACTIVITIES THAT RESULTS FROM GREEK-TURKISH DISPUTES.

3. LONG TERM DEFENSE INITIATIVES: AFTER EXTENDED NEGOTIATIONS, THE TURKS AGREED TO GREEK LIAISON WITH THE TASK FORCES INVOLVED IN IMPLEMENTING THE LONG TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM (LTDP). HOWEVER, THEY IMPOSED SEVERAL CONDITIONS WHICH IRRITATED THE GREEKS, ALTHOUGH ATHENS RELUCTANTLY ACCEPTED THE GUIDELINES FOR GREEK PARTICIPATION "IN PRINCIPLE". IT IS CLEAR THAT BOTH GREEKS AND TURKS WILL BE ALERT TO PERCEIVED ABUSES OF THEIR INTERESTS AS THE WORK OF THE TASK FORCES GOES FORWARD, AND PROCEDURAL QUARRELS MAY DEVELOP WHICH COULD ADVERSELY AFFECT IMPLEMENTATION OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S DEFENSE INITIATIVE.

4. EXERCISES: THE GREEKS HAVE DISPLAYED INCREASING WILLINGNESS OVER PAST YEAR TO PARTICIPATE IN NATO EXERCISES BUT ARE RELUCTANT TO PARTICIPATE WITH TURKS (AND VICE VERSA). LAST FALL NATO WAS SUCCESSFUL IN GETTING BOTH GREEKS AND TURKS

TOGETHER IN EXERCISE DISPLAY DETERMINATION. HOWEVER, IN A SUBSEQUENT EXERCISE, DAWN PATROL, AFTER EXHAUSTIVE EFFORTS BY SACEUR TO SATISFY BOTH SIDES, THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR GREEK AND TURKISH PARTICIPATION BROKE DOWN AND THE ENTIRE EXERCISE WAS CANCELLED. IN VIEW OF THE ILL WILL CREATED IN THE PROCESS, IT WILL PROBABLY NOT BE POSSIBLE TO BRING THE TWO TOGETHER IN JOINT EXERCISES AGAIN UNTIL THERE IS A BASIC CHANGE OF ATTITUDE. IN THE MEANTIME, OPERATIONAL DEFENSE PLANNING ON THE SOUTHERN FLANK CONTINUES TO ATROPHY.

5. COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS: NATO HEADQUARTERS AT LANDSOUTHEAST IN IZMIR PRIOR TO 1974 WAS COMPOSED OF GREEK AND TURKISH FORCES. THEIR NATO COMMANDERS WERE AMERICANS. HOWEVER, GREEK FORCES LEFT IZMIR AFTER THE 1974 CYPRUS CRISIS AND THE
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TURKS HAVE BEEN UNHAPPY WITH THE FACT THAT AN EXCLUSIVELY TURKISH FORCE WAS COMMANDED BY AMERICANS. ACCORDINGLY, IN DECEMBER 1977 A CHANGE IN COMMAND STRUCTURE WAS ANNOUNCED BY SACEUR AND THE TURKISH GENERAL STAFF. THE AMERICANS WERE REPLACED BY TURKISH COMMANDERS WITH AMERICAN DEPUTIES. THE ULTIMATE DISPOSITION OF GREEK FORCES, WHEN AND IF GREECE RETURNS TO THE NATO MILITARY STRUCTURE, IS UNCLEAR, BUT IT IS CERTAIN THEY WILL NOT RETURN TO IZMIR. ANOTHER LESS EFFECTIVE AND MORE ARTIFICIAL COMMAND ARRANGEMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE FOUND.

6. ALL THIS MANEUVERING AT NATO AND MUTUAL BLOCKING BY THE GREEKS AND TURKS OF WHAT THE OTHER WANTS, REFLECT THE BROADER DISPUTES BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES, THEIR BILATERAL PROBLEMS WITH THE US AS WELL AS AN EFFORT TO INCREASE THEIR LEVERAGE ON THE US.

7. THE TURKS HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY FRUSTRATED BY WHAT THEY SEE AS THE GREEK "FREE RIDE" IN NATO, WITH THE GREEKS GETTING WHAT THEY WANT OUT OF THE ORGANIZATION THROUGH SELECTIVE PARTICIPATION. ACCORDINGLY, THE TURKS ADOPTED A TOUGHER STANCE IN 1977 AND THIS IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE.

8. DESPITE TURKISH EFFORTS TO BLOCK PROCEDURALLY GREECE-NATO DISCUSSIONS IN THE OEG (PARA 1 ABOVE), THE GREEKS COULD OF COURSE TAKE ACTIONS TO REINTEGRATE UNILATERALLY. ALTHOUGH THE TURKS WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY OBJECT, THERE WOULD SEEM NO WAY TO BLOCK THE GREEKS RETURNING THEIR FORCES TO THE NATO INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE, PARTICIPATING FULLY IN NATO DEFENSE PLANNING AND RESUMING THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE DPC. WE THINK, HOWEVER, THEY ARE PROBABLY WELL SATISFIED WITH THE PRESENT SITUATION WHERE THEY CAN POINT TO LACK OF NATO RESPONSIVENESS TO THEIR
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PROPOSALS OF JANUARY 1977 (USNATO 470, 271800Z JAN 77).
THEY CAN ALSO CONTINUE TO CLAIM, AS REPORTED BY EMBASSY
ATHENS IN RECENT MONTHS, A NEED FOR PROGRESS IN GREECE-
NATO RELATIONS AS A CONDITION FOR THEIR SIGNATURE OF THE
US-GREEK DCA.

9. WE SEE LITTLE WE OR OTHER ALLIES CAN DO AT NATO TO
BREAK THIS IMPASSE. WE WILL CONTINUE TO PLUG AWAY ON GREEK-
TURKISH-NATO ISSUES, WHICH ARE UNLIKELY TO EVIDENCE MUCH
PROGRESS UNTIL THERE IS AN IMPROVEMENT IN BROADER GREECE-
TURKISH RELATIONS AND REGULARIZATION OF US BILATERAL RELA-
TIONS WITH BOTH COUNTRIES THROUGH PASSAGE OF THE DCAS.
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